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5 We shall now come to the other *Cardinal Principle* of all Religion, and treat something *concerning God*. Where we shall not so much demonstrate, *That he is*, as *What he is*.

Both which we may best learn from a *Reflection upon our own Souls*,
 5 as *Plotinus* hath well taught us, εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστέφω, εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐπιστρέφει, *He which reflects upon himself, reflects upon his own Originall*, and finds the clearest Impression of some Eternal Nature and Perfect Being stamp'd upon his own Soul. And therefore *Plato* seems sometimes to reprove the ruder sort of men in his times for their contrivance of Pictures
 10 and Images to put themselves in mind of the θεοὶ or Angellicall Beings, and exhorts them to look into their own Souls, which are the fairest Images not onely of the Lower divine Natures, but of the Deity it self; God having so copied forth himself into the whole life and energy of man's Soul, as that the lovely Characters of Divinity may be most easily seen and read of all
 15 men within themselves: as they say *Phidias* the famous Statuary, after he had made the Statue of *Minerva* with the greatest exquisiteness of Art to be set up in the *Acropolis* at *Athens*, afterwards impress'd his own Image

5–6 εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιστέφω, εἰς ἀρχὴν ἐπιστρέφει] “he who turns his eyes upon himself, turns his attention to his origin”; *Enneads*, VI.9.2.

8–9 *Plato* seems sometimes to reprove the ruder sort of men] I have not been able to identify where. HGW refers us to *Symposium*, 216e; *Critias*, 107b; *Enneads*, 5.1.6; and *Clement of Alexandria's Stromata*, 1, 15 and 7, 5, none of which really makes Smith's point.

1 5] This marks the start of Worthington's *Fifth Discourse*.

15 *Phidias*] There are several ancient accounts of how *Phidias* incorporated his own likeness into his statue of *Minerva*, including *Pseudo-Aristotle's de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, 846a (where the story is told of the statue of *Athene* on the *Acropolis*). HGW cites *Apuleius Madaurensis, de mundo*; cf. *Lucii Apuleii opera omnia* (Batavia, 1594,), p.21.; *De Mundo Aristotelis Lib.I ... Guilelmo Budaeo interprete* (Paris, 1623), p.28 offers a different translation. Neither resembles Smith's terse Latin. An alternative source may be *Nicholas Caussin's de eloquentia sacra et humana* (Paris, 1632), p.248, where *Caussin* relates the same story in a context similar to the one here; again, there is no verbal echo. For Smith's copy of *Caussin*, see *Saveson*, “The Library of John Smith, the Cambridge Platonist”.

so deeply in her buckler, *ut nemo delere possit aut divellere, qui totam statuam non imminueret*. And if we would know what the *Impresse* of Souls is, it is nothing but God himself, who could not write his own name so as that it might be read but onely in Rationall Natures. Neither could
 5 he make such without imparting such an Imitation of his own Eternal Understanding to them as might be a perpetual Memorial of himself within them. And whenever we look upon our own Soul in a right manner, we shall find an *Urim* and *Thummim* there, by which we may ask counsel of God himself, who will have this alway born upon its breast-plate.

10 There is nothing that so *embases* and *enthralls* the Souls of men, as the dismal and dreadful thoughts of their own *Mortality*, which will not suffer them to look beyond this short span of Time, to see an hours length before them, or to look higher then these materiall Heavens; which though they could be stretch'd forth to infinity, yet would the space be
 15 too narrow for an enlightned mind, that will not be confined within the compass of corporeal dimensions. These black Opinions of Death and the Non-entity of Souls (darker then Hell it self) shrink up the free-born Spirit which is within us, which would otherwise be dilating and spreading it self boundlessly beyond all Finite Being: and when these sorry pinching
 20 mists are once blown away, it finds this narrow sphear of Being to give way before it; and having once seen beyond Time and Matter, it finds then no more ends nor bounds to stop it swift and restless motion. It may then fly upwards from one heaven to another, till it be beyond all orbe of Finite Being, swallowed up in the boundless Abyss of Divinity, ὑπεράνω τῆς
 25 οὐσίας, beyond all that which darker thoughts are wont to represent under the Idea of *Essence*. This is that θεῖον σκότος which the Areopagite speaks

1–2 *ut nemo delere possit aut divellere, qui totam statuam non imminueret*] “that no one could either destroy or remove it, who would not threaten the whole statue”

24–25 ὑπεράνω τῆς οὐσίας] “above this being”; cf. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Mystica Theologia* I in *Patrologia Graeca* col.997. Budick, *Dryden and the Abyss of Light: A Study of “Religio Laici”*, p.256 comments that “John Smith goes back to those striking passages in Dionysius which held a powerful fascination for Aquinas”.

26 θεῖον σκότος] “divine darkness”; cf. Pseudo-Dionysius, *Mystica Theologia* I in *Patrologia Graeca* col.1000.

8 *Urim* and *Thummim*] The *urim* and *thummim* were contained in the breastplate of Aaron (Exodus, 29, 1-37) and were used as a form of oracle. cf. below NOTE

26 the Areopagite] Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite was a Christian writer initially

of, which the higher our Minds soare into, the more incomprehensible they find it. Those dismall apprehensions which pinion the Souls of men to mortality, churlishly check and starve that noble life thereof, which would alwaies be rising upwards, and spread it self in a free heaven: and when
 5 once the Soul hath shaken off these, when once it is able to look through a grave, and see beyond death, it finds a vast Immensity of Being opening it self more and more before it, and the ineffable light and beauty thereof shining more and more into it; when it can rest and bear up it self upon an Immaterial centre of Immortality within, it will then find it self able to bear
 10 it self away by a self-reflection into the contemplation of an Eternall Deity.

For though God hath copied forth his own Perfections in this consplicable and sensible World, according as it is capable of entertaining them; yet the most clear and distinct copy of himself could be imparted to none else but to intelligible and inconspicable natures; and though the whole
 15 fabrick of this visible Universe be whispering out some notions of a Deity, and alway inculcates this lesson to the contemplators of it, ὡς ἐμὲ πεποίηκε ὁ θεός, as *Plotinus* expresseth it; yet we cannot understand it without some interpreter within. *The Heavens* indeed *declare the glory of God, and the Firmament shews his handy-work*, and the τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, that
 20 *which may be known of God, even his eternal power and Godhead*, as *S. Paul* tells us, is to be seen in these *externall* appearances: yet it must

14 inconspicable] “not to be seen”.

16–17 ὡς ἐμὲ πεποίηκε ὁ θεός] “a god made me”; *Enneads*, 3.2.3.

18–19 *The Heavens* indeed *declare the glory of God, and the Firmament shews his handy-work*] Psalms 19, 1: “The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handy worke.”

19 τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ] “that which is known of God”

20–21 as *S. Paul* tells us] Romans 1, 19-20: “Because that which may bee known of God, is manifest in them, for God hath shewed it vnto them. For the inuisible things of him from the Creation of the world, are clearely seene, being vnderstood by the things that are made, euen his eternall Power and Godhead, so that they are without excuse:”

identified with the Dionysius the Areopagite of Acts 17, 34. The *Corpus Areopagaticum* is strongly influenced by Plotinus and Proclus, but was accepted as authentic after the Lateran Council of 549. Only in the Renaissance was it subjected to genuine critical scrutiny.

16–17 ὡς ἐμὲ πεποίηκε ὁ θεός] The context is: “Since, then, what has come into being is the whole universe, if you contemplate this, you might hear it say, ‘A god made me, and I came from him perfect above all living beings ...’”

be *something within* that must instruct us in all these Mysteries, and we shall then best understand them, when we compare that copie which we find of them *within* our selves, with that which we see *without* us. The Schoolmen have well compared *Sensible* and *Intelligible* Beings in reference to the Deity, when they tell us that the one doe onely represent *Vestigia Dei*, the other *Faciem Dei*. We shall therefore here enquire what that Knowledge of a Deity is which a due converse with our own naked Understanding will lead us into.

It being our design to discourse more particularly of *that knowledge* of the Deity that we may learn immediately *from ourselves*, we shall observe,

First, There is nothing whereby our own Souls are better known to us then by the Properties and Operations of *Reason*: but when we reflect upon our own *Idea of Pure and Perfect Reason*, we know that our own Souls are not it, but onely partake of it; and that it is of such a Nature that we cannot denominate any other thing of the same rank with our selves by; and yet we know certainly that it is, as finding from an inward sense of it within our selves that both we and other things beside our selves partake of it, and that we have it *κατὰ μεθέξιν* and not *κατὰ οὐσιάν*: neither doe we

6 *Vestigia Dei*] “traces of God”; in *De Potentia*, q.9a. 9co., Aquinas explains: “et ideo haec similitudo dicitur vestigii, quod repraesentat pedem sicut effectus causam” (“and so this likeness is said be that of a trace because that represents the foot as an effect represents its cause”).

6 *Faciem Dei*] “the face of God”

19 *κατὰ μεθέξιν*] “by participation”; cf. Aristotle, *Topica*, 5,4.

19 *κατὰ οὐσιάν*] “by nature”; cf. Aristotle, *Topica*, 5,3.

4 Schoolmen have well compared] Although the tradition goes back to St Augustine, Aquinas, for example, makes a similar distinction with regard to man in *Summa Theologica*, I, q.93, a6: “Sic igitur in homine invenitur Dei similitudo per modum imaginis secundum mentem; sed secundum alias partes eius, per modum vestigii.” (“So, therefore, a likeness to God in man is found by way of an ‘image’ in terms of his mind; but in terms of the other parts of him, by way of a ‘trace’.”) For a clear understanding that the language of the distinction is metaphorical, see Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, VII, i, 35-38.

12–13 There is nothing whereby our own Souls are better known to us then by the Properties and Operations of *Reason*] Recalling Descartes’ reflection upon the self.

19 *κατὰ οὐσιάν*] For Simplicius’ use of the distinction between participation and essence, see H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus*

or any *Finite* thing contain the source of it within our selves: and because we have a distinct Notion of the *most Perfect Mind and Understanding*, we own our deficiency therein. And as that *Idea of Understanding* which we have within us points not out to us This or That *Particular*, but something which is neither This nor That, but *Totall, Understanding*; so neither will any elevation of it serve every way to fit and answer that *Idea*. And therefore when we find that we cannot attain to *Science* but by a *Discursive* deduction of one thing from another, that our knowledge is confined, and is not fully adequate and commensurate to the largest Sphear of Being, it not running quite through it nor filling the whole *area* of it; or that our knowledge is *Chronical* and *successive*, and cannot grasp all things at once, but works by intervals, and runs out into *Division* and *Multiplicity*; we know all this is from want of Reason and Understanding, and that a *Pure and Simple Mind and Intellect* is free from all these restraints and imperfections, and therefore can be no less then *Infinite*. As this *Idea* which we have of it in our own Souls will not suffer us to rest in any conception thereof which represents it less then *Infinite*: so neither will it suffer us to conceive of it any otherwise then as *One Simple Being*: and could we multiply Understandings into never so vast a number, yet should we be again collecting and knitting them up together in some Universal one. So that if we rightly reflect upon our own *Mindes* and *the Method* of their *Energies*, we shall find them to be so framed, as not to admit of any other then *One Infinite* source of all that *Reason and Understanding* which themselves partake of, in which they live, move and have their Being. And therefore in the old Metaphysical Theology , an Originall and Uncreated Μὀνας or

25 Μὀνας] “monad, unit”

emendatus, p.11.; cf. Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.43.

25 the old Metaphysical Theology] Here, Pythagoreanism. Justin Martyr said that the Pythagoreans “say that unity is the first principle of all things and the cause of all good” (*Cohortatio ad Graecos*, XIX); and Aristotle reported that they “say that unity is the beginning and substance and element of all things, and that number is derived from it” and that they “also believe in one kind of number — the mathematical; only they maintain that it is not separate, but that sensible substances are composed of it. For they construct the whole universe of numbers” (*Metaphysics*, 13., 1080b). From this teaching, the Renaissance easily identified the monad with God. cf. Heninger, *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics*, pp.201ff; Peters, *Greek Philosophical Terms*, p.120.

Unity is made the Fountain of all Particularities and Numbers which have their Existence from the Efflux of its Almighty power.

And that is the next thing which our own Understandings will instruct us in concerning God, viz. *His Eternall Power*. For as we find *a Will* and
 5 *Power* within our selves to execute the Results of our own *Reason* and *Judgment*, so far as we are not hindred by some more potent Cause: so indeed we know it must be a mighty inward strength and force that must enable our Understandings to their proper functions, and that Life, Energy and Activity can never be separated from a Power of Understanding. The
 10 more *unbodied* any thing is, the more *unbounded* also is it in its *Effective* power: *Body* and *Matter* being the most sluggish, inert and unwieldy thing that may be, having no power from it self nor over it self: and therefore the *Purest Mind* must also needs be the most *Almighty Life and Spirit*; and as it comprehends all things and sums them up together in its Infinite
 15 knowledge, so it must also comprehend them all in its own life and power. Besides, when we review our own Immortal Souls and their dependency upon some Almighty Mind, we know that we neither did nor could produce our selves; and withall know that all that *Power* which lies within the compass of our selves, will serve for no other purpose then to apply
 20 severall præexistent things one to another, from whence all *Generations* and *Mutations* arise, which are nothing else but the *Events* of different applications and complications of Bodies that were existent before: and therefore that which produced that Substantial Life and Mind by which we know our selves, must be something *much more Mighty* then we are,
 25 and can be no less indeed then *Omnipotent*, and must also be the First architect and δημιουργός of all other Beings, and the perpetuall Supporter of them.

We may also know from the same Principles, That an *Almighty Love*, every way commensurate to that most Perfect Being, eternally rests in
 30 it, which is as strong as that is Infinite, and as full of Life and Vigour as that is of Perfection. And because it finds no Beauty nor Loveliness but onely in that and the issues thereof, therefore it never does nor can fasten upon any thing else. And therefore the Divinity alwaies enjoies it self and

26 δημιουργός] “maker”; the term inevitably recalls its use in the *Timæus*. For Philo’s distinction between the “artificer” and the “creator”, see *de somniis*, l.76.

its own Infinite perfections, seeing it is that Eternall and stable Sun of goodness that neither rises nor sets, is neither eclipsed nor can receive any encrease of light and beauty. Hence *the Divine Love* is never attended with those turbulent passions, perturbations, or wrestlings within it self,
 5 of *Fear, Desire, Grief, Anger*, or any such like, whereby *our Love* is wont to explicate and unfold its affection towards it Object. But as *the Divine Love* is perpetually most infinitely *ardent and potent*, so it is alwaies *calm and serene*, unchangeable, having no such ebbings and flowings, no such diversity of stations and retrogradations as that *Love* hath in us which
 10 ariseth from the weakness of our Understandings, that doe not present things to us alwaies in the same Orient lustre and beauty: neither we nor any other mundane thing (all which are in a perpetual flux) are alwaies the same. Besides, though our *Love* may sometimes transport us and violently rend us from our selves and from all Self-enjoyment, yet the more
 15 forcible it is, by so much the more it will be apt to torment us, while it cannot centre it self in that which it so strongly endeavours to attract to it; and when it possesseth most, yet is alwaies hungry and craving, as *Plotinus* hath well express'd it, πάντοτε πληροῦται καὶ πάντοτε ἐκρεῖ, it may alwaies be filling it self, but, like a leaking vessel, it will alwaies be emptying it
 20 self again. Whereas the Infinite ardour of *the Divine Love* arising from the unbounded perfection of the Divine Being, alwaies rests satisfied within it self, and so may rather be defin'd by a στάσις then a κίνησις, and is wrapt up and rests in the same Centrall Unity in which it first begins. and therefore I think some men of later times have much mistaken the nature

18 πάντοτε πληροῦται καὶ πάντοτε ἐκρεῖ] “always filling and always emptying”; although the quotation, if it is one, does not come from Plotinus, the idea is Plotinian; cf. *Enneads*, III.5.7, where he says that “Love is like a ‘sting’ without resources in his own nature; therefore, even when he attain his object he is without resources again: ... Love because of his intimate deficiency is impelled to longing, and even if he is for the moment satisfied, he does not hold what he has received.”

22 στάσις] “standing still”

22 κίνησις] “movement”

7 perpetually] “Perpetually” because Smith is speaking of the divine love in reference to the creation; in respect of itself, is is “eternally” the same.

9 retrogradations] Apparent reversals of a planets motions in the zodiac, but also used of the “action or process of going back towards some point in investigation of reasoning” (OED); for a similar metaphor, cf. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Westminster March 21, 1647*, p.56.

of *the Divine Love*, in imagining that *Love* is to be attributed to God, as all other Passions are, rather *secundùm effectum* than *affectum*: whereas S. *John*, who was well acquainted with this noble Spirit of *Love*, when he defin'd God by it, and calls him *Love* meant not to signifie a bare nothing
 5 known by some Effects, but that which was infinitely such as it seems to be. And we might well spare our labour, when we so industriously endeavour to find something in God that might produce the Effects of some other Passions in us, which look rather like the Brats of Hell and Darkness then the lovely offspring of Heaven.

10 When we reflect upon all this which signifies some *Perfect Essence*, as a *Mind*, *Wisdom*, *Understanding*, *Omnipotency*, *Goodness*, and the like, we can find no such thing as *Time* or *Place*, or any *Corporeall* or *Finite properties* which arise indeed not *ex plenitudine*, but *ex inopia entitatis*; we may also know God to be *Eternall* and *Omnipresent*, not because he
 15 fills either *Place* or *Time*, but rather because he wanteth neither. That which first begets the Notion of *Time* in us, is nothing else but that Succession and Multiplicity which we find in our own Thoughts, which move from one thing to another, as the Sun in the Firmament is said to walk from one Planetary house to another, and to have his several Stages to pass by.
 20 And therefore where there is no such *Vicissitude* or *Variety*, as there can be no sense of *Time*, so there can be nothing of the thing. *Proclus* hath wittily observ'd that *Saturne*, or (as the Greeks call'd him) *Κρόνος*,

2 *secundùm effectum* then *affectum*] “according to its effect”, “(according to) feeling”; In the 1756 text, this was paraphrased as “rather as to its consequences than as to its nature”. The distinction is scholastic. cf. St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*,^{1a} q. 21 a. 3 co.: “misericordia est Deo maxime attribuenda, tamen secundum effectum, non secundum passionis affectum.” (“Mercy is especially to be attributed to God, as seen in its effect, but not as an affection of passion.”)

3–4 when he defin'd God by it, and calls him *Love*] 1 John 4, 8 and 16: “Hee that loueth not, knoweth not God: for God is loue.” and “And we haue knowen and beleueed the loue that God hath to vs. God is loue, and hee that dwelleth in loue, dwelleth in God, and God in him.”

13 *ex plenitudine*] “out of abundance or fullness”

13 *ex inopia entitatis*] “out of lack or indigency of being”

21–22 *Proclus* hath wittily observ'd] in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 86b; cf. *Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, I, p.280.

21–22 *Proclus* hath wittily observ'd] HGW noted that “*Proclus* does not speak of the god *Κρόνος*, but of *Χρόνος*, 'Time'.”

was the first of the θεοὶ ἐπικοσμιοὶ or Mundane Gods, ὅτι ὅπου γένεσις, ἐκεῖ προηγείται χρόνος , because *Time* is necessarily presuppos'd to all *Generation*, which proceeds by certain motions and intervalls. This World is indeed a great *Horologe* to it self, and is continually numbring out its own
 5 age; but it cannot lay any sure hold upon its own past revolutions, nor can it gather up its infancy and old age, and couple them together. Whereas an *Infinitely-comprehensive Mind* hath a *Simultaneous possession of its own never-flitting life*; and because it finds no *Succession* in its own *immutable* Understanding, therefore it cannot find any thing to measure out
 10 its own duration. And as *Time* lies in the *Basis* of all *Finite* life, whereby it is enabled by degrees to display all the vertue of its own Essence: which it cannot doe at once: so such an *Eternity* lies at the foundation of the Divinity, whereby it becomes one *without any shadow of turning*, as S. James speaks, without any *Variety* or *Multiplicity* within himself, which
 15 all created Beings that are carried down in the current of *Time* partake of, And therefore the *Platonists* were wont to attribute Αἰὼν or *Eternity* to God, not such much because he had neither beginning nor end of daies, but because of his *Immutable* and *Uniform* nature, which admits of no such variety of Conceptions as all *Temporary* things doe; And *Time* they
 20 attributed to all created Beings, because there is a γένεσις or constant generation both of and in their essence, by reason whereof we may call any of them, as *Proclus* tells us, by that borrowed expression, ἔνην καὶ

1 θεοὶ ἐπικοσμιοὶ] “gods upon earth”.

1–2 ὅτι ὅπου γένεσις, ἐκεῖ προηγείται χρόνος] “because where there is creation, there time leads the way”; Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, 86b; cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, I, p.280.

13 *without any shadow of turning*] James, 1, 17: “Euery good gift, and euery perfect gift is from aboue, & commeth downe from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.”

16 Αἰὼν] “eternity”

20 γένεσις] “generation, coming into being”

22–1 ἔνην καὶ νέαν] “old and new”; adapted from Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, 25e, recalling Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 1134, 1190; cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, I, p.81. and III, p.310.

1 Mundane Gods] Cudworth explained that the “*Mundane Gods*” were “such as had all of them a *Temporary Generation* with the World” Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.243.

6 gather up its infancy and old age] stuff

16 *Platonists*] Much of what follows relies ultimately on the *Timaeus*, esp. 37d-38a.

νέαν *old and new*, being every moment as it were re-produced, and acting something which it did not individually before. Though otherwise they supposed *This World*, constantly depending upon the Creatour's Omnipotency, might from all Eternity flow forth from the same Power that still
 5 sustains it, and which was never less potent to uphold it then now it is: notwithstanding *this piece* of it which is *visible* to us, or at least *this Scheme* or *fashion of it*, they acknowledged to have been but of a late date.

Now thus as we conceive of God's *Eternity*, we may in a correspondent manner apprehend his *Omnipresence*; not so much by an Infinite Expanse
 10 or Extension of Essence, as by an unlimited power, as *Plotinus* hath fitly express'd it, ληπτέον δὲ καὶ ἄπειρον αὐτον οὐ τῷ ἀδιεξιτήτῳ ἢ τοῦ μεγέθους ἢ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπεριλήπτῳ τῆς δυνάμεως For as nothing can every stray out of the bounds or get out of the reach of an Almighty Mind and Power; so when we barely think of *Mind* or *Power*, or any thing else most
 15 peculiar to the Divine Essence, we cannot find any of the Properties of *Quantity* mixing themselves with it: and as we cannot confine it in regard thereof to any one point in the Universe, so neither can we well conceive it extended through the whole, or excluded from any part of it. It is alwaies some *Material* Being that contends for *Space*: Bodily parts will not lodge
 20 together, and the more bulky they are, the more they jostle for room one with another; as *Plotinus* tells us, τὰ μὲν ἐνταῦθα μεγάλα ἐν ὄγκῳ, τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐν δυνάμει, Bodily Beings are great onely in bulk, but Divine Essences in virtue and power.

We may in the next place consider that *Freedome and Liberty* which
 25 we find in our own Souls, which is founded in our *Reason* and *Understanding*; and this is therefore *Infinite* in God, because there is nothing

33–34 ληπτέον δὲ καὶ ἄπειρον αὐτον οὐ τῷ ἀδιεξιτήτῳ ἢ τοῦ μεγέθους ἢ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀπεριλήπτῳ τῆς δυνάμεως] “not because its size and number cannot be measured or counted but because its power cannot be comprehended”; *Enneads*, VI.9.6.

43–44 τὰ μὲν ἐνταῦθα μεγάλα ἐν ὄγκῳ, τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐν δυνάμει] “for greatness in the intelligible world is in power, here below in bulk”; *Enneads*, II.9.17.

36 barely] In the sense of “merely”, “only”, “simply”

41–43 Bodily parts will not lodge together, and the more bulky they are, the more they jostle for room one with another] stuff

that can bound the *First Mind*, or disobey an *Almighty power*. We must not conceive God to be the *freest* Agent, because he can doe and prescribe what he pleaseth, and so set up an Absolute will which shall make both Law and Reason, as some imagine. For as God cannot *know* himself to be any other then what indeed he is; so neither can he *will* himself to be any thing else then what he is, or that any thing else should swerve from those Laws which his own Eternall Nature and Understanding prescribes to it. For this were to make God free to dethrone himself, and set up a *Liberty* within him that should contend with the royall prerogative of his own boundless Wisdome.

To be short; When we converse with our own Souls, we find the *Spring* of all *Liberty* to be nothing else but *Reason*; and therefore no *Unreasonable* creature can partake of it: and that it is not so much any *Indifferency* in our Wills of determining without, much less against *Reason*, as the *liberall Election of*, and *Complacency in*, that which our *Understandings* propound to us as *most expedient*: And our *Liberty* most appears, when our *Will* most of all congratulates the results of our own Judgments; and then shews it self most vigorous, when either the *Particularness* of that Good which the Understanding converseth with, or the weak knowledge that it hath of it, restrains it not. Then is it most pregnant and flows forth in the fullest stream, when its Object is most full, and the acquaintance with it most ample: all *Liberty* in the Soul being a kind of *Liberality* in the bestowing of our affections, and the want or scarce measure of it *Parsimoniousness* and *Niggardise*. And therefore the more the Results of our Judgments tends to an *Indifferency*, the more we find our *Wills* *dubious* and *in suspense* what to chuse; contrary inclinations arising and falling within interchangeably, as the Scales of a ballance equally laden with weights; and all this while the Soul's *Liberty* is nothing else but a *Fluctuation* between uncertainties, and languisheth away in the impotency of our Understandings. Whereas the Divine Understanding beholding all things most clearly, must needs beget the greatest *Freedome* that may be; which *Freedome* as it is bred in it, so it never moves without the Compass of it. And though the Divine Will be not determin'd alway to this or

1–3 We must not conceive God to be the *freest* Agent, because he can doe and prescribe what he pleaseth] cf. Whichcote, Cudworth et al.

8–10 free to dethrone himself ...set up a *Liberty* ... that should content with the royall prerogative] The language obviously has a contemporary political resonance.

that particular, yet it is never bereft of Eternall Light and Truth to act by: and therefore though we cannot see a Reason for all Gods actions, yet we may know they were neither done against it nor without it.

We shall once more take a view of our own Souls, and observe how
 5 the Motions thereof lead us into the knowledge of a Deity. We alwaies
 find a *restless appetite* within ourselves which craves for some *Supreme*
and Chief good, and will not be satisfied with any thing less then *Infinity*
 it self ; as if our own *Penury* and *Indigency* were commensurate to the
 Divine *fulness*: and therefore no Question has been more canvas'd by all
 10 Philosophy then this, *De summo hominis bono*, and all the Sects thereof
 were anciently distinguish'd by those opinions that they entertain'd *De*
finibus Boni & Mali, as *Tully* phraseth it. But of how weak and dilute a
 Nature soever some of them may have conceived that *Summum Bonum*,
 yet they could not so satisfie their own inflamed thirst after it. We find by
 15 Experience that our Souls cannot live upon that thin and spare diet which
 they are entertain'd with at their own home; neither can they be satiated
 with those jejune and insipid morsels which this Outward world furnish-
 eth their Table with. I cannot think the most voluptuous *Epicurean* could
 ever satisfie the cravings of his Soul with Corporeal pleasure, though he
 20 might endeavour to perswade himself there was no better: nor the most
 Quintessential *Stoicks* find an *αὐτάρκεια* and *ἀταραξία* a self-sufficiency

10 *De summo hominis bono*,] “about man’s supreme good”

11–12 *De finibus Boni & Mali*] “About the limits of good and evil”

12 *Tully*] Cicero.

13 *Summum Bonum*] “supreme good”

21 *αὐτάρκεια*] “self-sufficiency, independence”

21 *ἀταραξία*] “impassivity, calmness”

5–8 We alwaies find ... *Infinity* it self] cf. Plotinus’ account of the insatiableness of love in *Enneads*, III.5.7.

14–18 We find by Experience ... furnisheth their Table with] cf. Whichcote: “if we stay within Doors, we stay within and starve; for there is not that which we can live upon; there is not that which is satisfactory to the connate desires of our immortal Souls: For we have a Tendency, Inclination, and a natural Desire after a fuller, a great good, then we are ourselves.” Whichcote, *Several Discourses*, IV, p.335.

21–1 a self-sufficiency and Tranquillity] Aristotle says that “we take a self-sufficient thing to mean a thing which merely standing by itself alone renders life desirable and lacking in nothing, and such a thing we deem happiness to be” (*ethica Nicomachea*, 1.vii.6. Both Stoics and Neoplatonists saw it as a quality of virtue. Epicurus had main-

and Tranquillity within their own Souls, arising out of the pregnancy of their own Mind and Reason; though their sullen thoughts would not suffer them to be beholden to an Higher Being for their Happiness. The more we endeavour to extract an *Autarchy* out of our own Souls, the more
 5 we torment them, and force them to feel and sensate their own pinching poverty. Ever since our Minds became so dim-sighted as not to pierce into that Original and Primitive Blessedness which is above, our Wills are too big for our Understandings, and will believe their beloved prey is to be found where Reason discovers it not: they will pursue it through all the
 10 vast Wilderness of this World, and force our Understandings to follow the chase with them: nor may we think to tame this violent appetite or allay the heat of it, except we can look upward to some Eternal and Almighty goodness which is alone able to master it.

It is not the *nimbleness* and *agility* of our own *Reason* which stirs up
 15 these *hungry affections* within us, (for then the most ignorant sort of men would never feel the sting thereof) but indeed some *more Potent nature* which hath planted a *restless motion* within us that might more forcibly carry us out to it self; and therefore it will never suffer it self to be controll'd by any of our thin Speculations, or satisfied with those aerie delights that
 20 our Fancies may offer to it: it doth not, it cannot, rest it self any where but upon the Centre of some Almighty good, some solid and substantial Happiness; like the hungry childe that will not be still'd by all the mother's musick, or change its sowre and angry looks for her smiling countenance; nothing will satisfie it but the full breasts.

25 The whole work of this World is nothing but a perpetuall contention for True *Happiness*, and men are scatter'd up and down the world, moving to and fro therein, to seek it. Our Souls by a Naturall Science as it were feeling their own Originall, are perpetually travailing with new designs and contrivances whereby they may purchase the scope of their high ambi-
 30 tions. *Happiness* is that Pearl of price which all adventure for, though few find it. It is not Gold or Silver that the Earthlings of this world seek after,

51 Pearl of price] Matthew 13, 45-6: "Againe, the kingdome of heauen is like vnto a

tained that the absence of disturbance from the soul is the purest form of pleasure, but the the position became characteristically Stoic.

37 sting] cf. *Enneads*, III.5.7.

but some *satisfying* good which they think is there treasur'd up. Neither is it a little empty breath that Ambition and Popularity soars after, but some kind of *Happiness* that it thinks to catch and suck in with it.

And thus indeed when men most of all *flie from God*, they still seek
 5 *after* him. Wicked men pursue indeed after a Deity in their worldly lusts; wherein yet they most blaspheme; for God is not a meer empty Name or Title, but that *Self-sufficient good* which brings along that *Rest and Peace* with it which they so much seek after, though they doe most prodigiously
 10 conjoyn it with something which it is not, nor can it be, and in a true and reall strain of blasphemy, attribute all that which God is to something which is most unlike him, and, as *S. Paul* speaks of those infatuated Gentiles, *turn the glory of the uncorruptible God into the image of corruptible man, of birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things.*

God is not better defin'd to us by our *Understandings* then by our *Wills*
 15 *and Affections*: He is not onely *the Eternal Reason*, that *Almighty Mind and Wisdome* which our *Understandings* converse with; but he is also that *unstained Beauty and Supreme Good* which our *Wills* are perpetually catching after: and wheresoever we find *true Beauty, Love and Goodness*, we may say, Here or there is *God*. And as we cannot understand
 20 any thing of an Intelligible nature, but by some primitive *Idea* we have of God, whereby we are able to guess at the elevation of its Being and the pitch of its Perfection; so neither doe our *Wills* embrace any thing without some *latent sense* of Him, whereby they can tast and discern how near any thing comes to that *Self-sufficient good* they seek after: and indeed
 25 without such an internal sensating Faculty as this is we should never know when our Souls are in conjunction with the Deity, or be able to relish the ineffable sweetness of true Happiness. Though here below we know but

marchant man, seeking goodly pearles: Who when hee had found one pearle of great price, he went and solde all that he had, and bought it."

11-12 as *S. Paul* speaks of those infatuated Gentiles] Romans 1, 22-3: "Professing themselues to be wise, they became fooles: And changed the glory of the vncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birdes, and foure footed beasts, and creeping things:"

20 primitive] i.e. radical, inborn.

27 true Happiness] cf. "The Moralists are wont to distinguish between objective Hap-

little what this is, because we are little acquainted with fruition and enjoyment; we know well what belongs to longings and languishment, but we know not so well what belongs to plenty and fulness; we are well acquainted with the griefs and sicknesses of this in-bred love, but we know not
5 what its health and complacencies are.

To conclude this particular, μεγάλας ἔχει κινήσεις ἡ ψυχὴ, the Soul hath strong and weighty motions, and nothing else can bear it up but something permanent and immutable. Nothing can beget a constant serenity and composedness within, but something Supreme to its own Essence;
10 as if having once departed from the primitive Fountain of its life, it were deprived of it self, perpetually contesting within it self and divided against it self: and all this evidently proves to our inward sense and feeling, That there is some Higher Good than our selves, something that is much more amiable and desirable, and therefore must be loved and preferred before
15 our selves, as *Plotinus* hath excellently observed, τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον ἐφιέμενον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, βούλεται ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἢ ὃ ἐστὶν εἶναι, &c. *Every thing that desires the enjoyment of the First good, would rather be That than what it is, because indeed the nature of that is much more desirable than its own.* And therefore the *Platonists*, when they contemplate the Deity under these three notions of τὸ ἓν, τὸ ὄν and τὸ ἀγαθόν, and question which
20 to place first in order of understanding, resolve the preeminence to be

6 μεγάλας ἔχει κινήσεις ἡ ψυχὴ,] “there the soul has strong emotions”

15–16 τῶν ὄντων ἕκαστον ἐφιέμενον τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, βούλεται ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ἢ ὃ ἐστὶν εἶναι, &c.] “every being in its desire for the Good wants to be that Good rather than what it is, and thinks that it is in the highest degree when it participates in the Good”; *Enneads*, VI.8.13.

20 τὸ ἓν] “the One”

20 τὸ ὄν] “that which truly is”

20 τὸ ἀγαθόν] “the Good”

piness and formal Happiness. Formal Happiness, that is an act of ours, whether it be Intellection or Dilection or both, whereby we our selves are united to God, do enjoy him; Objective Happiness, God is the Objective Happiness, because he is the Object that make them happy who do enjoy him: For this is as certain, we do but *uti Mundo*, but we do *frui Deo*.” Whichcote, *Several Discourses*, IV, p.319.

11–12 perpetually contesting within it self and divided against it self] cf. *Plotinus*, *Enneads*, VI.8.13: “nothing else contains in its essence the principle of its own satisfaction; there will be inner discord”

due to the τὸ ἀγαθόν, as *Simplicius* tells us, because That is first known to us as the Architect of the world, and, we may adde, as that which begets in us this ἐρωτικὸν πάθος, these strong passionate desires whereby all sorts of men (even those that are rude and illiterate) are first known
 5 to themselves, and by that knowledge may know what diminutive, poor and helpless, things themselves are, who can never satiate themselves from themselves, and what an Excellent and Sovereign goodness there is above them which they ought to serve, and cannot but serve it, or some filthy idol in stead of it; though this mental Idolatry be like that gross and
 10 external in this also, that howsoever we attend it not (and so are never the more blameless) yet our worship of these images and pictures of Goodness rests not there, it being some all-sufficient Good that (as we observed before) calls forth and commands our adorations.

We have seen how we may rise up to the understanding of the Deity by
 15 the contemplation of our own Souls: and now it may seem worthy of the best attention of our Minds to consider some *Deductions* and *Inferences* which naturally flow from the true knowledge of *the Divine Nature* and *Attributes*.

And the First is this, *That all Divine productions or operations that*
 20 *terminate in something without Him, are nothing else but the free Effluxes of his own Omnipotent Love and Goodness,* which alwaies moves along with them, and never willingly departs from them. When God made the world, it was not out of a piece of *Self-Interest*, as if he had had any design to advance himself, or to enlarge his own stock of glory and happiness;
 25 for what Beauty or Perfection can be in this whole Creation which was not before contained in himself as the free Fountain of all? or what could he see out of himself that could adde any thing to his own stature, which

3 ἐρωτικὸν πάθος,] “passion of love”; cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 265b.

1 as *Simplicius* tells us] cf. *Commentary on the Encheiridion of Epictetus*, 1,1: “The fountain and origin of all beings is the Good. For what everything strives for, and what everything stretches up towards, is the origin and goal of all things. The Good produces everything from itself, both the first things, and the intermediate things, and the lowest things.” Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 1-26*, p.42.

he found not already in himself? He made not the World *χρείας ἔνεκεν*, ἵνα τιμὰς πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ἄλλων καὶ δαιμόνων καρποῖτο, οἷον πρόσοδόν τινα ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρνύμενος, *It was not for any need, or that he might gain some honour to himself from Men, Archangels or Angels, as the Tribute or Rent to be paid to him from his Creation, as Clemens Alexandrinus* observes out of *Plato*. Though I know not how it comes about that some bring in God as it were casting about how he might erect a new Monopoly of glory to himself, and so to serve this purpose made the World, that he might have a stock of glory here going in it. And I doubt
 10 we are wont sometimes to paint him forth too much in the likeness of corrupt and impotent men, that by a fond ambition please themselves and feed their lustfull phancies with their own praises chanted out to them by their admirers, and another while as much sport themselves and applaud their own Greatness, to hear what hideous cries the Severity of their own
 15 Power can extort from those they have a mind to make miserable.

We all speak much of *the Glory of God*, and entertain a common belief that that's the onely End for which we were all made: and I wish we were all more inwardly moved with a true and lively sense of it. There can be nothing else that either God could propound to himself, or that we ought,
 20 if it be rightly understood. But we must not think that God, who is *Infinite fulness*, would seek for any thing without himself: he needs neither our *Happiness* nor our *Misery* to make himself more illustrious by; but being full in himself, it was his good pleasure to communicate of his own fulness: for, as *Proclus* hath well observ'd, πῶς γὰρ ἔξω βλέπει νοῦς ὦν, & c. *How*

1–3 *χρείας ἔνεκεν, ἵνα τιμὰς πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ἄλλων καὶ δαιμόνων καρποῖτο, οἷον πρόσοδόν τινα ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρνύμενος*] “For it was not from need that God made the world; that He might reap honours from men and the other gods and demons, winning a kind of revenue from creation, and from us, fumes, and from the gods and demons, their proper ministries,” says Plato.”; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, V, 11.

24 πῶς γὰρ ἔξω βλέπει νοῦς ὦν, & c.] Taylor translates: “for how being intellect can he look outwardly; but his delight was produced from being filled with his own boniform will, and from his beneficent power proceeding to the unenvying and exuberant communication and supply of more perfect goods. This also Plato sufficiently indicates, by saying

1–3 *χρείας ἔνεκεν, ἵνα τιμὰς πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς θεῶν ἄλλων καὶ δαιμόνων καρποῖτο, οἷον πρόσοδόν τινα ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρνύμενος*] HGW comments that the passage “probably does not exist in Plato’s works, as we now have them”. cf. Worthington, *Select Discourses*, p.28.

can he look without himself, being he is a pure Mind alwaies encompass'd with its own glorious brightness? But the good pleasure of his Will being fill'd with bounty, and the power of a most gracious Deity proceeding from it, liberally dispensed themselves, and distributed those gifts of grace that

5 might make all created Being the more to resemble that Archetypall Idea of themselves. Accordingly *Timaeus Locrus* represents the Creatour of the World in the same strain that *Moses* did, ὡς ἀγαζόμενος καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς, delighted as it were in himself to see that all things that he had made were good, and some things exceeding good. God himself being infinitely full,

10 and having enough and to spare, is alwaies overflowing; and *Goodness* and *Love* issue forth from him by way of redundancy. When he made the World, because there was nothing better then himself, he shadowed forth himself therein, and, as far as might be, was pleased to represent himself and manifest his own eternall glory and perfection in it. When he is said

15 to seek his own glory, it is indeed nothing else but to ray and beam forth, as it were, his own lustre; as *R. Jehuda* in his book *Cosri* hath glanc'd at it, *Gloria hæc scintilla est lucis divinæ*,

that the Demiurgus in consequence of being delighted, endeavoured to render the universe still more similar to its paradigm"; Proclus, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 240b.; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, III, p.6.

7 ὡς ἀγαζόμενος καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς] "as delighting and gladdened"; the phrase may be Smith's own, but it reflects the language of *Timaeus*, 37c (ἠγάσθη τε καὶ εὐφρανθεὶς); cf. Plotinus' comments in *Enneads*, V.8.8.

8–9 all things that he had made were good] Genesis, 1,31: "And God saw euery thing that hee had made: and behold, it was very good."

9 some things exceeding good] Ecclesiasticus 39,16: "Al the works of the Lord are exceeding good"

17–1 *Gloria hæc scintilla est lucis divinæ, cedens in utilitatem populi ejus in terra ejus*] "Even so does the glory of God, which is only a ray of the divine light, benefit His people in His country"; Halevi, *Kitab al Khazari*, p.88.

6 *Timaeus Locrus*] A Greek Pythagorean philosopher (c.420-380 BC), to whom the text *de anima mundi et natura* was attributed.

9–11 God himself being infinitely full, and having enough and to spare, is alwaies overflowing; and *Goodness* and *Love* issue forth from him by way of redundancy] cf. Cudworth, *A treatise of Freewill*, pp.28-9: "God, an absolute perfect being is not this love of indigent desire, but a love of overflowing fulness and redundancy, communicating itself."

16 *R. Jehuda*] A Jewish poet, philosopher and physician from Toledo (c. 1075-1141), considered by many as one of the greatest medieval Hebrew poets.

16 *Cosri*] *Kitab al Khazari*, "The Book of the Khazars", written in Arabic and finished about 1140. The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism in occurred in the mid-8th century.

cedens in utilitatem populi ejus in terra ejus.

God does then most *glorifie* and exalt himself in the most triumphant way that may be *ad extra* or out of himself, if I may so phrase it, when he most of all communicates himself, and when he erects such Monuments
5 of his own Majesty wherein his own *Love and Goodness* may live and reign.

And we then most of all *glorifie* him, when we partake most of him, when our serious endeavours of a true assimilation to him and conformity to his Image declare that we think nothing *Better* than He is, and are therefore
10 most ambitious of being one with him by an Universall Resignation of our selves unto him.

This is his *Glory* in its lowest Humiliation, while it beams forth out of himself; and our Happiness in its Exaltation, which Heaven never separates nor divides though Earth doth. His Honour is His Love and Goodness
15 in paraphrase, spreading it self over all those that can or doe receive it; and this he loves and cherishes wheresoever he finds it, as something of himself therein.

Thus I should leave this particular, but that being gone so far in it, it may be worth the while to take notice of Three things wherein God
20 most of all glories and takes the greatest complacency, in reference to Creatures, as they are laid down by *Proclus l.4. in Tim.* 1. Εὐφραίνεται μὲν πρώτως κατὰ τὴν ἔδον ἑαυτοῦ νόησιν, ἀπλῆ καὶ ἀνεμποδίστῳ καὶ περιβολῆ
πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν περιλαμβανούσῃ *The First, and chiefest, is concurrent with his own internall vision of all things in that simple, expedite and simultaneous*
25 *comprehension of all things intelligible, piercing through all their essences, and viewing them all in himself, he is delighted therein, as seeing how his own Glory can display and imitate it self in outward Matter.* 2. The

20 be *ad extra*] “to the outside”

38–40 Εὐφραίνεται μὲν πρώτως κατὰ τὴν ἔδον ἑαυτοῦ νόησιν, ἀπλῆ καὶ ἀνεμποδίστῳ καὶ περιβολῆ πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν περιλαμβανούσῃ] Taylor translates: “For he was primarily delighted indeed, through the inward intellection of himself, comprehending and benevolently receiving the intelligible universe, with a simple, unimpeded, and collected embrace, through permanency in, and a perfect union with it”; Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, 240b.; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, III, p.6.

second is, διὰ τὴν ἐπιτηδαιότητα τῶν ὑποδεχομένων τὴν ἔξω προϊοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγίαν *in the aptness and capacity of those things which he hath made to receive a further influence of good ready to stream forth from himself into them.* 3. The last is ἐν τῇ ἔξ ἀμφοῖν συμμετρία, καὶ ὡσανεὶ
 5 συμποία, *in the sweet symmetry of his own forms with this capacity, and as it were the harmonious conspiracy and symphony of them, when his own light pleasantly plaies upon those well-tuned instruments which he hath fitted to run the descants of his own Goodness upon.* And therefore it becomes us whom he hath endued with vitall power of action, and in
 10 some sense a *Self-moving life*, to stir up his good gifts within our selves; and, if we would have him take pleasure in us, to prepare our own Souls more and more to receive of his Liberality, ἵνα μὴ ἀργῆ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δόσις, that that stock which he is pleased to impart to us may not lie dead within us. And this is the Application which he makes of this Particular.

15 In the next place we may by way of further *Deductions* gather, *That that Almighty Wisdom and Goodness which first made all things, doth also perpetually conserve and govern them;* deriving themselves through the whole Fabrick, and seating themselves in every Finite Essence, ἵνα μὴ
 20 φυγόντα τὸθεῖον τελέως ἄτακτα γένηται, (as the same Philosopher expresseth it) lest stragling and falling off from the Deity, they should become

1–2 διὰ τὴν ἐπιτηδαιότητα τῶν ὑποδεχομένων τὴν ἔξω προϊοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγίαν] Taylor translates: “on account of the aptitude of the natures which receive the supply of good, externally proceeding from him.” Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, 240b.; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, III, p.7.

4–5 ἐν τῇ ἔξ ἀμφοῖν συμμετρία, καὶ ὡσανεὶ συμποία] Taylor translates: “that which proceeds from the symmetry, and as it were conspiracy and symphony of both power and aptitude”; Proclus, *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, 240c.; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, III, p.7.

10 good gifts] Matthew 7, 11: “If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?”

12–13 ἵνα μὴ ἀργῆ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δόσις] Taylor translates: “in order that the gift of divinity, may not with respect to us be inefficacious”; *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, 240c.; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, III, p.7.

18–19 ἵνα μὴ φυγόντα τὸθεῖον τελέως ἄτακτα γένηται] Taylor translate: “lest by flying from divinity, they should become perfectly disorderly”; *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, 243e.; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, III, p.18.

19 the same Philosopher] Proclus

altogether disorderly, relapsing and sliding back into their first *Chaos*. As in all *Motion* there must be some *First Mover*, from whence the beginning and perpetuation of all *Motion* is deduced: so in *Beings* there must be some *First Essence* upon which all other must constantly depend. And therefore the *Pythagorean* philosophy was wont to look upon these νέα δημιουργήματα, as they call this production of every thing that is not truly divine, ὡς ἀεὶ ἐν γενέσει, as being always *in fieri*. For as no *Finite* thing can subsist by its own strength, or take its place upon the stage of *Space* without the leave of an *Almighty* and *Supreme* power: so neither can it remain here without licence and assistance from it. The *Deity* indeed is the Centre of all finite *Being*, and *Entity* it self, which is *Self-sufficient*, must of necessity be the *Foundation* and *Basis* of every one of these *weak* *Essences*, which cannot bear up themselves by any *Centrall* power of their own; as we may also be almost assured of from a sensible feeling of all the constant mutations and impotency which we find both in ourselves and all other things.

And as *God* thus *preserves* all things, so he is continually *ordering* and *disposing* all things in the best way, and providing so as may be best for them. He did not make the *World* as a meer *Exercise* of his *Almighty* power, or to trie his own strength, and then throw it away from himself without any more minding of it; for he is that *Omnipresent Life* that penetrates and runs through all things, containing and holding all fast together within himself; and therefore the ancient *Philosophy* was wont rather to say, that the *World* was in *God*, then that *God* was in the *World*. He did not look without himself to search for some solid foundation that might bear up this weighty building, but indeed rear'd it up within him, and spread his own *Omnipotency* under it and through it: and being centrally in every part of it, he governs it according to the prescript of his own unsearchable *Wisdom* and *Goodness*, and orders all things for the

5–6 νέα δημιουργήματα] “new creations”

7 ὡς ἀεὶ ἐν γενέσει] “always coming into being”; cf. *Enneads*, V.1.9.

24–25 the *World* was in *God*, then that *God* was in the *World*] cf. Cudworth’s citation of *Porphyry*, as one who “denies *God* to be *Locally* in the *Corporeal World*, and thinks it more proper to say that the *Corporeal World* is in *God*, then *God* in it; because the *World* is held and contained in the *Divine Power*, but the *Deity* is not in the *Locality* of the *World*” Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.775

best. And this is one principall Orthodox point the *Stoicks* would have us to believe concerning *Providence*, ὅτι πάντα ὑπ' ἀρίστου νοῦ γίνεται, that all things are here done in this World by the appointment of the Best Mind.

And now if any should quarrel with the unequal distribution of things
 5 here, as if rather some blind Fortune had bestow'd her blessings care-
 lessly till she had no more left, and thereby made so many starvelings,
 rather than some *All-knowing Mind* that deals forth its bounty in due pro-
 portions; I should send them to *Plutarch* and *Plotinus* to have their Reas-
 ons fully satisfied in this point,(for we here deal with the Principles of
 10 Natural light) all these debates arising from nothing but *Pædanticall* and
Carnall notions of *Good* and *Evil*: as if it were so gallant a thing to be
 dealing with Crowns and Scepters, to be bravely arrayed, and wallow in
 that which is call'd the Wealth of this World. God indeed never took any
 such notice of Good men as to make them all Rulers, as the last of those
 15 forecited Authors tells us; neither was it worth the while, οὐδὲ θεμιτὸν τοὺς
 ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλον βίον ζῶντας τὸν ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀμείνω, τούτος αὐτῶν
 ἄρχοντας εἶναι, *neither is it fit for for good men that partake of an higher
 life then the most Princely is, to trouble themselves about lording and rul-
 ing over other men*; as if such a splendid kind of *nothing* as this is were
 20 of so much worth. It may be generally much better for us, while we are
 so apt to magnifie and court any Mundane beauty and glory, as we are,
 that *Providence* should disorder and deface these things, that we might
 all be weaned from the love of them, then that their lovely looks should
 so bewitch and enchant our Souls as to draw them off Better things. And
 25 I dare say that a sober mind that shall contemplate the state and temper
 of mens minds, and the confused frame of this outward world, will rather
 admire at the Infinite Wisdome of a gracious Providence in permitting and
 ordering that *Ataxy* which is in it, then he would were it to be beheld in a
 more comely frame and order.

2 ὅτι πάντα ὑπ' ἀρίστου νοῦ γίνεται] “that everything is done by the best mind”

15–17 οὐδὲ θεμιτὸν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἄλλον βίον ζῶντας τὸν ἀρχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀμείνω, τούτος αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας εἶναι] “but it is not righteous for good men, who live another life better than human rule, to be their rulers”; *Enneads*, V.2.9.

28 *Ataxy*] “disorder”; cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 30a.

11–13 as if it were ... the Wealth of this World] Again, we should be alert to the political aspects of Smith's language.

14–15 the last of those forecited Authors tells us] i.e. Plotinus

We proceed now to another Deduction or Inference, viz. *That all True Happiness consists in a participation of God arising out of the assimilation and conformity of our Souls to him; and the most reall Misery ariseth out of the Apostasie of Souls from God.* And so we are led to speak of the
 5 Rewards and Punishments of the Life to come, *Præmium* and *Poena*, וענש ושכר, as the Jewish Writers are wont to express them: and it will not be any hard labour from what hath been said to find out the *Originall* and *Nature* of both of them; and though perhaps we cannot dive into the bottome of them, yet we may go about them, and tell how in a general way to define
 10 and distinguish them.

Happiness is nothing else, as we usually describe it to our selves, but the Enjoyment of some Chief good: and therefore the Deity is so boundlessly Happy, because it is every way one with its own Immense perfection; and every thing so much the more *feelingly* lives upon *Happiness*,
 15 by how much the more it comes *to partake of God* and *to be made like to him*: And therefore the *Platonists* well defin'd it to consist *in idea Boni*. And as it is impossible to enjoy *Happiness* without a fruition of God; so it is impossible to enjoy him without an *assimilation* and *conformity* of our Natures to him in a way of true goodness and Godlike perfection. It is a
 20 common Maxim of Socrates, μη καθαρῷ καθαρῷ ἐφάπτεσθαι μη οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦ, *it is not lawfull for any impure nature to touch pure Divinity*. For we cannot enjoy God by any Externall conjunction with him: Divine fruition is not by a meer kind of *Apposition* or *Contiguity* of our Natures with the

5 *Præmium* and *Poena*] “reward” and “punishment”

15 *to partake of God*] 2 Peter 1,4: “Whereby are giuen vnto vs exceeding great and precious promises, that by these you might bee partakers of the diuine nature, hauing escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust.”

16 *in idea Boni*] “in the idea of the good”

20–21 μη καθαρῷ καθαρῷ ἐφάπτεσθαι μη οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦ] “it is not lawful that the impure to partake of the pure”; H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.220; the citation goes back to *Phaedo*, 67b, but Smith would have found it in *Simplicius’ Commentary*, 38; cf. Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook* 27-53, p.67. cf. Whichcote’s use of it: “for the *Platonists* tell us well, that it is not possible for that which is no pure, to be united to, and conjoined with, and enjoyed with that which is pure. No communion of God with the devil; pure and impure cannot conjoin, no more than light and darkness. In an impure soul, there can no true notion of God lodge” Whichcote, *Works*, IV, p.321.

Divine, but it is an *Internall Union*, whereby a Divine Spirit *informing* our Souls, derives the strength of a *Divine Life* through them; and as this is more strong and active, so is *Happiness* it self more Energeticall within us. It must be some Divine Efflux running quite through our Souls, awaken-
 5 ing and exalting all the vitall powers of them into an active Sympathy with some Absolute good, that renders us compleatly blessed. It is not to sit gazing upon a Deity by some thin speculations; but it is an inward feeling and sensation of this Mighty Goodness displaying it self within us, melting our fierce and furious natures, that would fain be something in contradic-
 10 tion to God, into an Universall compliance with it self, and wrapping up our amorous Minds wholly into it self, whereby God comes to be all in all to us. And therefore so long as our Wills and Affections endeavour to fix upon any thing but God and true Goodness, we doe but indeed anxiously endeavour to wring *Happiness* out of something that will yeeld no more
 15 then a flinty Rock to all our pressing and forcing of it. The more we endeavour to force out our Affections to stay and rest themselves upon any Finite thing, the more violently will they recoil back again upon us. It is onely a true sense and relish of God that can tame and master that rage of our insatiable and restless desires which is still forcing us out of our
 20 selves to seek some *Perfect Good*, that which from a *latent sense* of our own Souls we feel our selves to want.

The *Foundation of Heaven and Hell* is laid in mens own Souls, in an ardent and vehement appetite after *Happiness*, which can neither attain to it, nor miss finally of it and of all appearances of it, without a quick
 25 and piercing sense. Our Souls are not like so many lumps of *dead* and senseless *Matter* to a true living *Happiness*, they are not like these dull clods of Earth which sent not the good or ill savour of those Plants that grow upon them. *gain* and *Loss* are very sensibly felt by greedy minds. The Soul of man was made with such a large capacity as it is, that so
 30 it might be better fitted to entertain a full and liberall Happiness, that the Divine Love and Goodness might more freely spread it self in it, and unite it to it self. And accordingly when it misseth of God, it must feel so much the more the fury and pangs of Misery, and find a severe *Nemesis* arising out of its guilty conscience, which like a fiery Scorpion will fasten its stings
 35 within it. And thus as *Heaven, Love, Joy, Peace, Serenity*, and all that which *Happiness* is, buds and blossoms out of holy and Godlike spirits: so also *Hell and Misery* will perpetually spring out of impure Minds, distracted with

Envy, Malice, Ambition, Self-Will or any *inordinate* loves to any particular thing.

This is that *Ἀδραστείας νόμος* that *Plato* speaks of, that fatal Law that is first made in Heaven's Consistory, *That Purity and Holiness shall be happy, and all Vice and Sin miserable*. Holiness of Mind will be more and more attracting God to it self, as all Vice will lapse and slide more and more from him. The more pure our Souls are and abstracted from all mundane things, the more sincerely will they endeavour the nearest union that may be with God, the more they will pant and breathe after him alone, leaving the chase of any other delight. There is such a noble and free-born spirit in true Goodness seated in Immortall natures, as will not be satisfied meerly with *Innocency*, nor rest it self in this *mix'd Bodily* state, though it could converse with Bodily things without sinking to a vitious love of them; but would alwaies be returning to a more intimate union with that Being from whence it came, and which will be drawing it more and more to it self: and therefore it seems very reasonable to believe that if *Adam* had continued in a state of *Innocency*, he should have been raised by God to a greater fruition of him, and his nature should have been elevated to a more transcendent condition. And if there was any *Covenant* made with *Adam* in Paradise, I think we cannot understand it in any other sense but this: the Scripture speaks not of any other terms between God and Man. And this *Law of Life*, which we have spoken of, is Eternall and Immutab; nor does the Dispensation of Grace by Christ Jesus at all abrogate or disannull, but rather enforce, it: for so we find that *the Law of Christ*, that which he gave out to all his Disciples, was this *Law of perfection* that carries *true Happiness* along in the Sense of it, which, as the great Prince of Souls, he dispenseth by his Eternall Spirit in a vitall way unto the Minds of men.

In the fourth place, we may further collect How rightly to state the Notion of *the Divine Justice*, the scope whereof is nothing else but to assert

3 *Ἀδραστείας νόμος*] "law of the inevitable"; cf. *Phaedrus*, 248c.

4–5 *That Purity and Holiness shall be happy, and all Vice and Sin miserable*] cf. *Phaedrus*, 248c: "the soul which follows after God and obtains a view of any of the truths is free from harm".

24 disannull] "*Disannul*, to repeal, abolish, or make void." Blount, *Glossographia*

and establish *Eternall Law and Right*, and to preserve the integrity thereof; it is no design of *Vengeance*, which though God takes on wicked men, yet he delights not in it. The Divine Justice *first* prescribes that which is most conformable to the Divine Nature, and mainly pursues the conserva-
 5 tion of Righteousness. We would not think him a good Ruler that should give out *laws* to *ensnare* his Subjects, with an even indifferency of Mind whether his Laws be kept, or Punishments suffered; but such a one who would make the best security for Right and Equity by wholesome *Laws*, and annexing *Punishments* as a means to prevent transgression, and not to
 10 manifest Severity. The proper scope of *Justice* seems to be nothing else but the preserving and maintaining of that which is Just and Right: the scope of that *Justice* which is in any *Righteous Law*, is properly to provide for a righteous execution of that which is just and fit to be, without intending *punishment*; for to intend that properly and directly, might rather seem
 15 *Cruelty* then *Justice*: and therefore *Justice* takes not up *Punishment*, but onely for a security of performance of Righteous Laws, *viz.* either for the amendment of the person transgressing, or a due example to others to keep them off from transgression. For I would here suppose a Good and Righteous man, who in some desolate place of the World should have
 20 the command of a 100 more, and himself be Supreme & under no command. He prescribes Laws to this company, makes it death for any one to take away another's life. But now one proves a Murtherer, kills one of his fellows; afterwards repents heartily, and is like to prove usefull among the rest of his fellows: they all are so heartily affected one to another,
 25 that there is no danger, upon sparing this Penitent's life, that any one of them should be encouraged to commit the like evil. The Case being thus stated, it will not seem difficult to conclude that the *Justice* of this *Righteous* and *Good* Commander would *spare* this poor Penitent: for his *Justice* would have preserved that life which is lost, and seeing there is nothing
 30 further that it can obtain in taking away this, it will save this which may be saved; for it affects not any blood; and when it destroys, it is out of necessity, to take away a destructive person, and to give example, which in the Case stated falls not out.

Again, *Justice* is the *Justice of Goodness*, and so cannot delight to punish; it aimes at nothing more then the maintaining and promoting *the Laws of Goodness*, and hath alwaies some *good end* before it, and therefore would never punish except some further *good* were in view.

True Justice never supplants any that it self might appear more glorious in their ruins; for this would be to make *Justice* love something better than *Righteousness*, and to advance and magnifie it self in something which is not it self, but rather an aberration from it self: and therefore
 5 God himself so earnestly contends with the Jews about *the Equity* of his own waies, with frequent asseverations that his Justice is thirsty after no man's blood, but rather that Sinners would repent, turn from their evil waies, and live. And then Justice is most advanced, when the contents of it are fulfill'd; and though it does not, and will not, acquit the guilty without
 10 Repentance, yet the design of it is to encourage Innocency and promote true Goodness.

The former Deduction leads me to another a-kin to it, which shall be my last, and it is that which *Tully* intimates in his *De Legibus*, viz. *That seeing there is such an Entercourse and Society as it were between God*
 15 *and Men, therefore there is also some Law between them, which is the Bond of all Communion.* God himself, from whom all *Law* takes its rise and emanation, is not *Ex-lex* and *without all Law*, nor, in a sober sense, *above it*. Neither are the Primitive rules of his Oeconomy in this world the sole Results of an *Absolute will*, but the Sacred Decrees of *Reason* and
 20 *Goodness*. I cannot but think God to be so *unbounded* in his *Legislative* power, that he can make any thing *Law*, both for his own *Dispensations* and our *Observances*, that we may sometime imagine. We cannot say indeed that God was absolutely determin'd from some *Law* within himself to make us; but I think we may safely say, when he had once determin'd
 25 to make us, he could neither make us *sinfull*, seeing he had no *Idea* nor shadow of *Evil* within himself, nor lap up those dreadfull fates within our

13 *De Legibus*] "On the Laws"

17 *Ex-lex*] "outside the law"

13 *Tully*] Cicero

13–16 *That seeing there is such an Entercourse and Society as it were between God and Men, therefore there is also some Law between them, which is the Bond of all Communion*] cf. "since nothing is better than reason, and since it [is] in both man and god, the primary fellowship of man with god involves reason. Moreover, among those who have reason in common, right reason is also in common; since that is law, we should also consider men to be united with gods by law"; *de legibus*, 1.23

26 lap up] in the sense of "to enfold"; HGW's emendation to "wrap up" is unnecessary.

Natures, or set them over us, that might *arcanâ inspiratione* (as some are pleas'd to phrase it) secretly work our ruine, and silently carry us on, making use of our own naturall infirmity, to eternall misery. Neither could he design to make his creatures *miserable*, that so he might shew himself
 5 *Just*. These are rather the by-waies of *Cruell* and *Ambitious* men, that seek their own advantage in the mischiefs of other men, and contrive their own Rise by their Ruines: this is not Divine *Justice*, but the *Cruelty* of degenerated men.

But as the Divinity could propound nothing to it self in the making of
 10 the World but *Communication* of its own *Love* and *Goodness*; so it can never swerve from the same Scope and End in the dispensation of it self to it. Neither did God so boundlessly enlarge the appetite of Souls after some All-sufficient Good, that so they might be the more unspeakably tortur'd in the missing of it; but that they might more certainly return to
 15 the Originall of their Beings. And such busie-working Essences as the Souls of men are, could neither be made as dull and senseless of true Happiness as Stocks and Stones are, neither could they contain the whole summe and perfection of it within themselves: therefore they must also be inform'd with such Principles as might conduct them back again to Him
 20 from whom they first came. God does not make Creatures for the meer sport of his Almighty arm, to raise and ruine and toss up and down at meer pleasure. No, that εὐδοκία or good pleasure of that Will that made them is the same still, it changes not, though we may change, and make our selves incapable of partaking the blissfull fruits and effects of it.

25 And so we come to consider that Law embosom'd in the Souls of men which ties them again to their Creatour, and this is called *The Law of*

1 might *arcanâ inspiratione*] “secret inspiration”; perhaps glancing at Calvin’s use of the phrase in *Institutes*, I.xvii.2, where he says “that whatever we conceive in our minds is directed to its end by the secret inspiration (arcana inspiratione) of God”.

22 εὐδοκία] “contentment”; cf. Matthew, 11, 26 (“Euen so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight”) and Luke 10, 26 for occurrences of the term.

16–17 as dull and senseless of true Happiness as Stocks and Stones] The proverbial phrase ultimately echoes Jeremiah 2, 26: “Saying to a stocke; Thou art my father, and to a stone; Thou hast brought me forth: for they haue turned their backe vnto me, and not their face: but in the time of their trouble, they will say; Arise and saue vs.”

Nature; which indeed is nothing else but a Paraphrase or Comment upon the Nature of God as it copies forth it self in the Soul of Man.

Because God is the *First Mind* and the *First Good*, propagating an *Imitation* of himself in such Immortall Natures as the Souls of Men are, therefore ought the Soul to renounce all mortall and mundane things, and preserve its Affections chast and pure for God himself; to love him with a most Universall and Unbounded Love; to trust in him and reverence him; to converse with him in a free and chearful manner, as One *in whom we live and move and have our Beings*, being perpetually encompassed by him, and never moving out of him; to resign all our Waies and Wills up to him with an equall and indifferent mind, as knowing that he guides and governs all things in the Best way; to sink our selves as low in *Humility* as we are in *Self-nothingness*.

And because all those scatter'd *Raies of Beauty* and Loveliness which we behold spread up and down all the World over, are onely the *Emanations* of that inexhausted *light* which is above; therefore should we love them all in that, and climb up alwaies by those Sun-beams unto the Eternall Father of Lights: we should look upon him and take from him the pattern of our lives, and alwaies eying of him should ἀγάλματα θεῶν τεκταινέιν, &c (as *Hierocles* speaks) polish and shape our Souls into the clearest resemblance of him; and in all our behaviour in this World (that Great Temple of his) deport our selves decently and reverently, with that humility, meekness and modesty that becomes his house. We should endeavour more and more to be perfect, as he is; in all our dealing with men, doing good, shewing mercy and compassion, advancing justice and righteousness, being alwaies full of charity and good works; and look upon our

8–9 *in whom we live and move and have our Beings*,] Acts 17,28: “For in him we liue, and mooue, and haue our being, as certaine also of your owne Poets haue said, For we are also his offspring.”

18 Father of Lights] James 1,17: “Euery good gift, and euery perfect gift is from aboue, & commeth downe from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.”

19–20 ἀγάλματα θεῶν τεκταινέιν] “frame divine statues”; Hierocles, *In aureum Pythagoreorum carmen commentarius*, l.1.

20 *Hierocles*] Hierocles of Alexandria was a 5th century Neoplatonist (fl.430), whose only surviving work is the *Commentary on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras*.

selves as having nothing to doe here but onely to display and blazon the glory of our heavenly Father, and frame our hearts and lives according to that Pattern which we behold in the Mount of a holy Contemplation of him. Thus we should endeavour to preserve that Heavenly fire of the Divine

5 Love and Goodness (which issuing forth from God centres it self within us, and is the Protoplastick virtue of our Beings) alwaies alive and burning in the Temple of our Souls, and to sacrifice our selves back again to him. And when we fulfill this *Royall Law* arising out of the heart of Eternity, then shall we here appear to be *the Children of God*, when he thus lives in us,

10 as our Saviour speaks *Matth.5*. And so we shall close up this Particular with that *High privilege* which Immortall Souls are invested with: they are all *the Off-spring of God*, for so *S. Paul* allows the Heathen Poet to call them: they are all royally descended, and have no Father but God himself, being originally formed into his image and likeness; and when they

15 express the purity and holiness of the Divine Life in being perfect as God is perfect;, then they *manifest themselves* to be his *children*, *Matth.5*. And in *Matth. 7*. Christ encourageth men to seek and pray for the *Spirit* (which is the best gift that God can give to men) because he is their Heavenly Father, much more bountifull and tender to all helpless Souls that seek

20 to him, then any earthly parent, whose Nature is degenerated from that primitive goodness, can be to his children. But those Apostate Spirits that know not to return to the Originall of their Beings, but implant themselves into some other flock, and seek to incorporate and unite themselves to another line by sin and wickedness, cut themselves off from this divine

9 *the Children of God*] cf. Matthew 5, 9: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God."

12 *the Off-spring of God*] Acts 17, 28: "For in him we liue, and mooue, and haue our being, as certaine also of your owne Poets haue said, For we are also his offspring."

15–16 in being perfect as God is perfect] cf. Matthew 5, 48: "Be yee therefore perfect, euen as your father, which is in heauen, is perfect."

17–18 which is the best gift that God can give to men] cf. Matthew 7, 11: "If ye then being euill, know how to giue good giftes vnto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heauen, giue good things to them that aske him?"

1 blazon] cf. p.76.

12 the Heathen Poet] Aratus (c.310-240 BC) wrote in his *Phainomena* that "in all circumstances we are all dependent upon Zeus. For we are also his children..." (II.4-5), trans. Douglas Kidd (Cambridge, 2004), p. 73.

privilege, and lose their own birth-right; they doe μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἄλλο γένος (if I may borrow that phrase) and lapse into another nature. All this was well express'd by *Proclus*, πᾶσαι ψυχᾷ θεῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσαι τὸν ἐπέγνωσαν θεόν αἱ δὲ ἐπιγνοῦσαι καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐλόενοι ζωὴν, καλοῦνται θεῶν παῖδες,
 5 *All Souls are the Children of God, but all of them know not their God; but such as know him and live like to him, are called the Children of God.*

But here, as an *Appendix* to the two former Deductions, it may be of good use to enquire into the *Reason* of such *Laws* as we call *Positive*, which God hath in all times, as is commonly suppos'd, enjoyn'd obedience
 10 to; which are not the Eternall dictates and Decretals of the Divine Nature communicating it self to Immortal Spirits, but rather deduce their Originall from the free will and pleasure of God.

To solve this Difficulty, that of *S. Paul* may seem a fit *Medium*, who tells us *The Law was added because of transgression*; though I doubt not
 15 but he means thereby the *Moral Law* as well as any other. The true intent and scope of these *Positive laws*, (and it may be of such an externall promulgation of the *Morall*) seems to be nothing else but this, to secure the Eternall Law of Righteousness from transgression. As the Jews say of their *decreta sapientum*, that they were גדר לתורה, *an hedge to the Law*;

1–2 μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἄλλο γένος] “pass from one genus to another”.

3–4 πᾶσαι ψυχᾷ θεῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶσαι τὸν ἐπέγνωσαν θεόν αἱ δὲ ἐπιγνοῦσαι καὶ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἐλόενοι ζωὴν, καλοῦνται θεῶν παῖδες] Taylor translates: “All souls therefore, are the children of the Gods; but all do not know their presiding God. Such however, as have this knowledge and choose a similar life, are called the children and progeny of the Gods”; *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 288e; cf. *Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, III, p.159.

14 *The Law was added because of transgression*] Galatians, 3, 19: “Wherefore then serueth the Law? it was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come, to whome the promise was made, and it was ordeyned by Angels in the hand of a Mediatour.”

19 *decreta sapientum*] “decrees of the wise”

19 גדר לתורה] note required; the phrase denotes the Mishnah

1–2 μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἄλλο γένος] The phrase describes a logical error, “technically used of passing from one science to another, and illicitly transferring its appropriate principles” Cope, *Commentary on the Rhetoric of Aristotle*; cf. Aristotle, *analytica posteriora*, I.7.

10 Decretals] “*Decrees or Decretals*, a Volume of the Canon Law, so call'd, composed by *Gratian* a Monk, of the Order of *St. Benedict*.” Blount, *Glossographia*

19 *hedge*] in the sense of a safeguard.

so we may say of these Divine Decretals, they were but cautionary and preventive of disobedience to that Higher Law: and therefore Saint *Paul* tells us why the Morall Law was made such a Political business by an external promulgation, &c. 1. Tim. 1.9 not so much because of righteous men, in whom the Law of Nature lives, who perform the τὰ τοῦ νόμου without any outward Law, but it was given *for the lawless and disobedient*, &c. And therefore I doubt not but we may safely conclude, that God gave not those *Positive* Laws merely *pro imperio*, if I may use that expression; it was not merely to manifest his Absolute Dominion and Sovereignty, as some think, but for the good of those that were enjoined to obey; and this belief *Moses* endeavours almost throughout the whole Book of *Deuteronomy* to strengthen the Israelites in: and therefore God was so ready upon all occasions to *dispense* with these Laws, and requires the Jews to omit the observance of them, when they might seem to justle with any other Law of *Morall duty* or *Humane necessity*, as may be observ'd in many Instances in Scripture.

But for a more distinct unfolding of this point, we may take notice of this difference in the notion of *Good* and *Evil*, as we are to converse with them. Some things are so *absolutely*, and some things are so onely *relatively*. That which is *absolutely good*, is every way *Superior to us*, and we ought alwaies to be *commanded by it*, because we are made under it: But that which is *relatively good to us*, may sometime be *commanded by us*. Eternall Truth and Righteousness are in themselves perfectly and *absolutely good*, and the more we *conform* our selves to *them*, the better we are. But those things that are onely *good relatively* and in order to us, we may say of them, that they are so much the better, by how much the more they are *conform'd to us*, I mean, by how much the more they are accommodated and fitted to our estate and condition, and may be fit means to help and promote us in our pursuit of some *Higher good*: and such indeed is the matter of all *Positive* Laws, and the *Symbolicall* or

2–3 Saint *Paul* tells] 1 Timothy, 1,9: “Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers.”

5 τὰ τοῦ νόμου] “the things of the law”; from Romans 2, 14: “For when the Gentiles which haue not the Law, doe by nature the things contained in the Law: these hauing not the Law, are a Law vnto themselues.”

8 *pro imperio*] “by virtue of power”

Rituall part of Religion. And as we are made for the formerviz. what is absolutely good, to serve that; so are these latter made for us, as our Saviour hath taught us when he tells us that *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath*: and as sincere and reall Christians grow
 5 up towards true perfection, the lesse need have they of *Positive* precepts or Externall helps. Yet I doubt it is nothing but a wanton *fastus* and proud temper of spirit in our times that makes so many talk of being *above Ordinances*, who, if their own arrogance and presumption would give them leave to lay aside the flattering glasse of their own Self-love, would find
 10 themselves to have most need of them.

What I have observ'd concerning the *Things absolutely good*, I conceive to be included in that עֲדָק עוֹלָמִים mention'd in Dan.9. *everlasting righteousness*, which the Prophet there said should be *brought in* and advanced by *Messiah*: this δικαιοσύνη αἰώνιος is the Righteousness which
 15 is of an eternall and immutable nature, as being a conformity with the Eternall and Unchangeable Truth. For there is a Righteousness which thus is not *Eternall*, but *Positive* and at the pleasure of God that dictates it: and such was the *Righteousness* which Christ said *it became him to fulfill* when he was baptiz'd ; there was no necessity that any such things
 20 should become due. But the Foundation of this *Everlasting righteousness* is something unalterable. To speak more particularly, *That the Highest good should be loved in the Highest degree; that dependant creatures, that borrow all they have from God, should never glory in themselves, or admire themselves, but ever admire and adore that unbounded Goodness*
 25 *which is the Source of their Beings and all the Good they partake of; That*

3–4 *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath*] Mark 2,27: “And hee said vnto them, The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath:”

6 *fastus*] “scornful contempt”

12 עֲדָק עוֹלָמִים] “everlasting righteousness”

12 Dan.9.] Daniel 9, 24: “Seuentie weekes are determined vpon thy people, and vpon thy holy citie, to finish the transgression, and to make an ende of sinnes, and to make reconciliation for iniquitie, and to bring in euerlasting righteousnes, and to seale vp the vision and prophecie, and to anoynt the most Holy.”

14 δικαιοσύνη αἰώνιος] “eternal righteousness”; cf. St. John Chrysostom, *Adversus Judaeos*, V, 643D.

18–19 which Christ said *it became him to fulfill* when he was baptiz'd] Matthew 3, 15: “And Iesus answering, said vnto him, Suffer it to be so now: for thus it becommeth vs to fulfill all righteousnesse. Then he suffered him.”

we should alwaies doe that which is just and right, according to the measure we would others should doe with us: these, and some other things which a rectified Reason will easily supply, are immutably true and righteous; so that it never was nor can be true, that they are unnecessary.

- 5 And whoso hath his Heart molded into *a delight* in such a Righteousness and the practice thereof, hath this *Eternall righteousness brought into his Soul*, which Righteousness is also *true and reall*, not like that *imaginary Externall* righteousness of the Law which the *Pharisees* boasted in.

- 10 For the concluding of this Discourse, as a *Mantissa* to what hath been said, we shall a little consider how inconsistent a thing *a Perfect knowledge of God* is with this Mundane and Corporeall state which we are in here. *While we are in the Body, we are absent from the Lord*, as S. Paul speaks, and that (I think) without a mysterie: Such Bodies as ours are being fitted for an Animal state, and pieces of this whole *Machina* of Sensible
15 Matter, are perpetually drawing down our Souls, when they would raise up themselves by Contemplation of the Deity; and the caring more or less for the things of this Body, so exercises the Soul in this state, that it cannot attend upon God *ἀπερισπάστους without distraction*. In the antient Metaphysicks such a Body as this is we carry about us, is call'd *ἄντερριον*,

12 *While we are in the Body, we are absent from the Lord*] 2 Corinthians 5,6: "Therefore we are alwaies confident, knowing that whilst wee are at home in the body, wee are absent from the Lord."

18 *ἀπερισπάστους*] "without distraction"; 1 Corinthians 7,35: "And this I speake for your owne profite, not that I may cast a snare vpon you, but for that which is comely, and that you may attend vpon the Lord without distraction."

19–1 *ἄντερριον, σπήλαιον*] "cave", "grave"

8 *Pharisees*] Throughout the gospels, the Pharisees are presented as being more concerned with laws and rules than with spiritual values; cf. Matthew, 23, for example: "Woe vnto you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for yee are like vnto whited sepulchres, which indeed appeare beautifull outward, but are within full of dead mens bones, and of all vncleannesse." For Smith's view, see discourse 8.

9 *Mantissa*] "an addition of comparatively small importance, esp. to a literary effort or discourse"; cf. Cudworth, *The True Notion of the Lord's Supper*, 1, in Birch, *The Works of Ralph Cudworth*, IV. p.225.

14–15 *Machina* of Sensible Matter] The phrase has distinctly Cartesian overtones.

19–1 *ἄντερριον, σπήλαιον*] cf. *Enneads*, IV.8.3. where he reports Plato's view of the soul: "the body is its chain and tomb and the universe its cave and den." cf. George Rust's use of the same topos in J. Taylor, *Works*, I, pp.5-6.

σπήλαιον, &c. the dark *Den* and *Sepulchre* in which Souls are imprison'd and entomb'd, with many other expressions of the like importance; and *Proclus* tells us that the Commoration of the Soul in such a Body as this, is, according to the common vote of Antiquity, nothing else but κατασκή-
 5 νωσις ἐν πεδίῳ λήθης, *a dwelling or pitching its Tabernacle in the Valley of Oblivion and Death*. But **Plotinus* in his περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ σώματα καθόδου τῆς ψυχῆς seems not to be easily satisfied with Allegorical descriptions, and therefore searching more strictly into this business, tells his own and their meaning in plainer terms, that *This Body* is an occasion of Evil to the *Soul*
 10 two waies; 1. ὅτι τὸ ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὰς νοήσεις γίνεται, as it hinders its Mental operations, presenting its *idola specūs* continually to it: 2. ὅτι ἡδονᾶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ λυπῶν πίμπλησιν αὐτήν, as it calls forth its advertency to its own Passions, which while it exerciseth it self about too earnestly, it falls into a sinfull inordinacy.

15 Yet did not the *Platonists* nor the more *Contemplative Jews* deny the Existence of all kind of Body in the other State, as if there should be nothing residing there but naked Souls totally devested of all Corporeall Essence; for they held that the Soul should in the other World be united
 20 with a Body, not such a one as it did act in here, (which was not without much disturbance) but such as should be most agreeable to the Soul, which they call'd πνευματικὸν ὄχημα τῆς ψυχῆς *the Spirituall Vehicle of the*

23–24 κατασκήνωσις ἐν πεδίῳ λήθης] “camping in the plain of Lethe”; Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, III, p.323.

25–26 in his περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ σώματα καθόδου τῆς ψυχῆς] “On the descent of the soul into bodies”

29 ὅτι τὸ ἐμπόδιον πρὸς τὰς νοήσεις γίνεται,] “that it becomes a hindrance to thought”; *Enneads*, V.8.2.

30 *idola specūs*] “idols of the cave”

30–31 ὅτι ἡδονᾶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ λυπῶν πίμπλησιν αὐτήν] “it fills the soul with pleasures, desires and griefs”; *Enneads*, V.8.2.

40 πνευματικὸν ὄχημα τῆς ψυχῆς] “the pneumatic vehicle of the soul”; adapted from Proclus, *Commentary on the Timaeus*, 312a; Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, III, p.237; cf. Gaulmin, *De vita et morte Mosis, Libri Tres*, p.406.; cf. Cudworth, *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable Society of Lincolnes-Inne*, p.53.

22 Commoration] “*Commoration*, (Lat.) a tarrying or dwelling in a Place for a time.” Blount, *Glossographia*

Soul, and by *Zoroaster* it was call'd εἶδωλον ψυχῆς, a kind of *Umbra* or *Aereal* Mantle in which the Soul wraps her self, which, he said, remain'd with her in the state of glory, Ἔστι καὶ εἰδῶλω μερίς εἰς τόπον ἀμφιφάοντα· and in the Jewish language it is מלבוש מלבוש indumentum quoddam interius, as
5 *Gaulmin* hath observed in his *De vita & morte Mosis*.

But to return; the *Platonists* have pointed out a threefold knowledge of God, 1. one κατ' ἐπιστήμην, 2. the second κατὰ νόησιν, 3. the last κατὰ παρουσίαν· and this last they affirm'd to be unattainable by us, it being that ineffable Light whereby the Divinity comprehends its own Essence penet-
10 rating all that Immensity of Being which it self is. The First may be attain'd to in this life; but the Second in its full perfection we cannot reach here in this life, because this knowledge ariseth out of a blissfull Union with God himself, which therefore they are wont to call ἐπαφήν τοῦ νοητοῦ a Contact

1 εἶδωλον ψυχῆς] “the phantom of the soul”

1 *Umbra*] “shade” or “semblance”; can also mean a “shelter” or “protection” (Cicero).

3 Ἔστι καὶ εἰδῶλω μερίς εἰς τόπον ἀμφιφάοντα·] “and there is part of the image in the place where light shines around”; from *Gaulmin, De vita et morte Mosis, Libri Tres*, p.407. The line is from the *Chaldean Oracles*; Corey, *The Ancient Fragments*, p.116.

4 מלבוש מלבוש] translate

4 *indumentum quoddam interius*] “a certain interior covering or garment”; *Gaulmin* translates the Hebrew as “vestimentum (garment) quoddam interius” in *Gaulmin, De vita et morte Mosis, Libri Tres*, p.406. For *Cudworth's* use of “*Interiour Indument*”, see *Cudworth, The true intellectual system of the Universe*, pp.787ff.

5 *De vita & morte Mosis*] *On the life and death of Moses*, Paris, 1629

7 κατ' ἐπιστήμην] “by way of reasoned knowledge”

7 κατὰ νόησιν] “by way of intellectual perception”

7–8 κατὰ παρουσίαν·] “by way of a presence”

13 ἐπαφήν τοῦ νοητοῦ] “intellectual touch”; *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 92d; cf. *Proclus, In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, I, p.302

1 *Zoroaster*] The Persian prophet, to whom the *Chaldean Oracles* were later attributed.

5 *Gaulmin*] Gilbert *Gaulmin* (1585-1665) was a French orientalist, imprisoned by Richelieu as a “libertin”. James Hume, the mathematician, compared him to Pico della Mirandola. He was an eminent linguist and collector of manuscripts.

6–7 the *Platonists* have pointed out a threefold knowledge of God] It is, in fact, Plotinus who says that “our awareness of the One is not by way of reasoned or of intellectual perception, as with other intelligible things, but by way of a presence superior to knowledge”; *Enneads*, VI.9.4.

13 they] In this case, *Proclus*. Taylor translates the sentence from which Smith extracts the next phrases: “it is that which subsists according to intellectual vision itself, a contact with the intelligible, and a union with the demiurgic intellect.”

of Intellectual Being, and sometimes ἀυτοφάνειαν or ἐπιβολὴν αὐτοπτικὴν, that is, that I may phrase it in the Scripture words, *a beholding of God face to face*, which is that סוד הפנים *Arcanum facierum* the Jewish writers speak of, which we cannot attain to while we continue in this concrete and bodily state. And so when *Moses desir'd to behold the face of God*, that is, as the *Jewes understand it, that a distinct *Idea* of the Divine essence might be imprinted upon his Mind, God told him, *No man can see me, and live*; that is, no man in this corruptible state is capable of attaining to this ἀυτοφάνεια or *visio facierum*, as *Maimonides* expounds it, הארס החי הוא מחובר מגוף, ונפא ובו שאין ברעת *The Understanding of the living man, who is compounded of Body and Soul, is utterly unable clearly to apprehend the Divine Essence, to see it as it is.* And so *S. Paul* distinguisheth the knowledge of *this life* as taken in this complex sense, and of *the life to come*: that *now we see* δι' ἐσόπτρου *in a glass*, which is continually sullied and darkened,

1 ἀυτοφάνειαν] “self-manifesting”; cf. *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 92d; cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, I, p.302

1 ἐπιβολὴν αὐτοπτικὴν] “intuition of concentrated vision”; *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, 92d; cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, I, p.302.

2–3 *a beholding of God face to face*] 1 Corinthians 31,12: “For now we see through a glasse, darkely: but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know euen as also I am knowen.”

3 סוד הפנים] translate

3 *Arcanum facierum*] “secret of the faces”; cf. Cudworth's citation in Cudworth, *Systema Intellectuale Huius Universi, Seu De Veris Naturae Rerum Originibus Commentarii*, II, p.898.

7 *No man can see me, and live*] Exodus 33,20: “And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see mee, and liue.”

8–9 ἀυτοφάνεια] “self-manifestation”

9 *visio facierum*] “vision of the faces”

9–10 ונפא ובו שאין ברעת הארס החי הוא מחובר מגוף] “that is beyond the strengths of a living man, whose body and soul are as one, to understand the nature of His existence”; Maimonides, *Hilkot Yesôdê hat-tôrâ*, I.10.

12 *S. Paul*] Smith returns again to 1 Corinthians 31,12: “For now we see through a glasse, darkely: but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know euen as also I am knowen.”

14 δι' ἐσόπτρου] “through a mirror”

5 when *Moses desir'd to behold the face of God*] cf. Exodus 33,18: “And he said, I beseech thee, shew me thy glory.”

9 *Maimonides*] Moses Maimonides (1135-1204) was a Cordoban rabbi, physician and philosopher. His *Hilkot Yesôdê hat-tôrâ* was translated as *Constitutiones de fundamentis legis* by Willem Vorst and published in 1638.

while we look into it, by the breathing of our Animal fancies, passions and imaginations upon it; and ἐν αἰνιγματι *darkly*: but we shall see then προσωπον πρὸς προσωπον *face to face*; which is the translation of that Hebrew phrase פנים אל פנים. And in the like manner does a Greek philosopher

5 compare these two sorts of Knowledge which the Soul hath of God in this life and in that to come, Τοὺς ἐπιστημονικοὺς λόγους ἡγήσεται συνοῦσα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συνεστιωμένη τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ ὄντος. καὶ ἐν ἀύγῃ καθαρᾷ, *The Soul will reckon all this knowledge of God which we have here by way of Science but like a fable or parable, when once it is in conjunction with the Father,*

10 *feasting upon Truth it self, and beholding God in the pure raies of his own Divinity.* I shall conclude all with that which S. Paul expressly tells us, 1. Cor.15.50. *Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdome of God*; where, by *Flesh and Blood* he seems to mean nothing else but Man in this complex and compounded state of Soul and Body, I mean corruptible, earthy

15 Body: and it was a common *Periphrasis* of this ἄνθρωπος ὁ πολὺς amongst the Jews בשר ורם : in the like sense is σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, *Flesh & Blood*, in those and other places in the New Testament used, where this phrase occurs, viz. *Matth.16.17 Gal.1.16.Ephes.6.12. Heb.2.14.* But in opposition to this gross earthy Body, the Apostle speaks of σῶμα πνευματικὸν, a

2 ἐν αἰνιγματι] “in a riddle, or enigma”

2-3 προσωπον πρὸς προσωπον] “face to face”

4 פנים אל פנים] “face to face”; Exodus 33, 11: “And the Lord spake vnto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh vnto his friend.”

6-7 Τοὺς ἐπιστημονικοὺς λόγους ἡγήσεται συνοῦσα τῷ πατρὶ καὶ συνεστιωμένη τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ ὄντος. καὶ ἐν ἀύγῃ καθαρᾷ] Taylor translates: “she then considers scientific discussions to be but words, banquets together with him on the truth of real being, and in pure splendour is purely initiated in entire and stable visions;” *Commentary on Plato’s Timaeus*, 92d; cf. Proclus, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, I, p.302.

12 *Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdome of God*] 1 Corinthians 15,50; “Now this I say, brethren, that flesh & blood cannot inherit the kingdome of God: neither doth corruption inherite incorruption.”

15 ἄνθρωπος ὁ πολὺς] “multiple human being”; *Enneads*, VI.9.8; cf. the “complex and multifarious man”.

16 בשר ורם] “exalted flesh”?

16 σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα] “flesh and blood”

19 σῶμα πνευματικὸν] “spiritual body”; 1 Corinthians 15,44: “It is sown a naturall body, it is raised a spirituall bodie. There is a naturall bodie, and there is a spirituall bodie.”

4 a Greek philosopher] Proclus again.

Spirituall Body, v.44. such as shall *put on incorruption and immortality*, v.53. and consequently differing from that Body which here makes up this compounded Animall Being: and accordingly our Saviour speaks of *the children of the Resurrection*, that they **neither marry nor are given*
 5 *in marriage, nor can they die any more*, but are ἰσάγγελοι or, as it is in S. *Matthew* and *Mark*, ὡς ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ, *as the Angels of God*; and so the Jewish writers are wont to use the same phrase to express the state of Glory by, viz. that then good men shall be כמלאכי השרת *sicut Angeli ministerii*.

6

6 Having spoken to those *Principles of Naturall Theologie* which have the most proper and necessary *influence* into *Life* and *Practice*, and are most pregnant with morall goodness; we come now to consider *Those pieces of Revealed Truth* which tend most of all to foment and cherish true
 5 and reall Piety.

But before we fall pressly into any strict Enquiry concerning them, it may not be amiss to examine *How and in what manner This kind of Truth*,

1 *put on incorruption and immortality*] 1 Corinthians 15,53: "For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortall must put on immortalitie."

4–5 *they *neither marry nor are given in marriage*] Luke 20, 34-5: "And Iesus answering, said vnto them, The children of this world, marrie, and are giuen in marriage: But they which shall be accompted worthy to obtaine that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marrie, nor are giuen in marriage."

5 *nor can they die any more*] Luke 20,36: "Neither can they die any more; for they are equall vnto the Angels, and are the children of God, being the children of the resurrection."

5 ἰσάγγελοι] "equal to angels"

6 ὡς ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ] "like the angels of god"; cf. Matthew 22,30; Mark 12, 25

8 כמלאכי השרת] note required: ?Maimonides

8–9 *sicut Angeli ministerii*] "like ministering angels"

1 6] This marks the start of Worthington's *Sixth Discourse*. A Latin translation by Jean Le Clerc was published in his *Veteris testamenti prophetae ab Esaia ad Malachiam usque ex translatione Joannis Clerici cum ... dissertatione Joh. Smith de prophetia et ... de poesi Hebraeorum* (Amsterdam, 1731).

4 foment] In the sense of "inspire" or "prompt".